/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage° was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tušawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tušawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Kejara Bororo SP8

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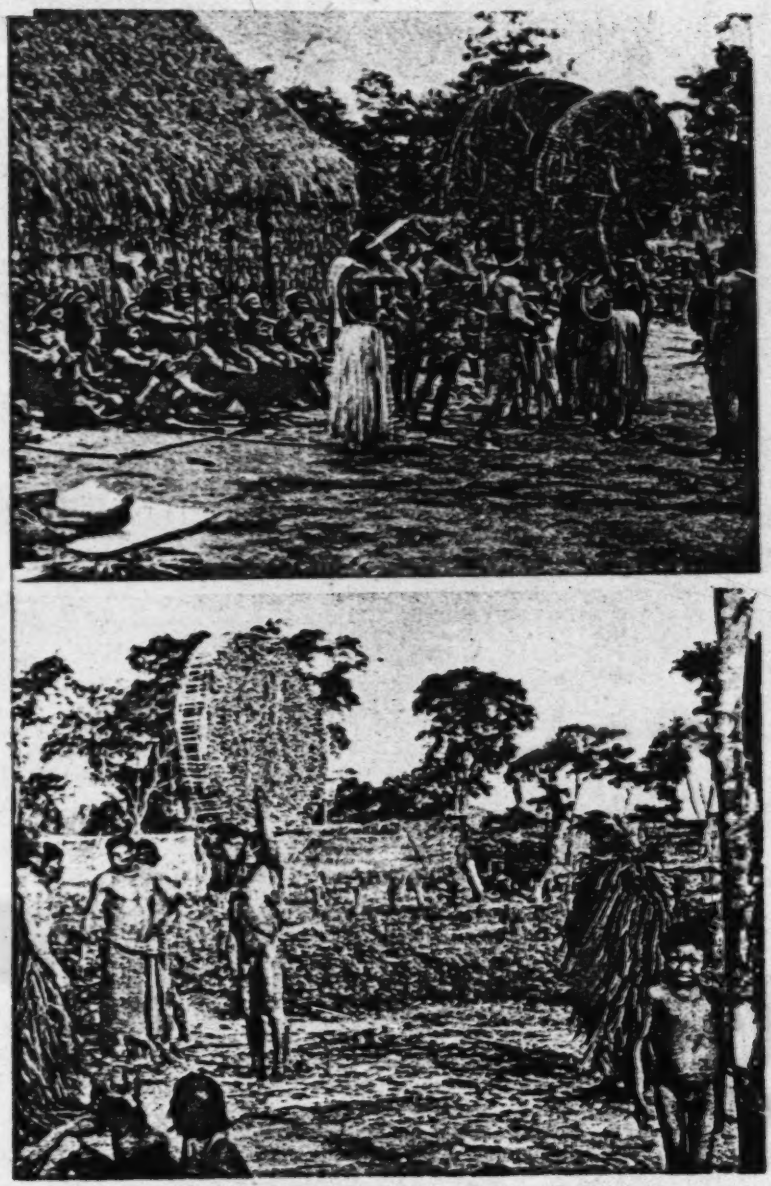

PLATE 57.—Bororo festival at village of Kejara. Top: Dance of the "Maridda." Bottom: Presentation of the "Maridda." (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[p. 432-E]

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

881 reciprocal, he will be called iyorubodare by them. The only
*601 exception occurs if the initiator is a brother of the boy's true father; then the boy will call his father's mother imarugo, grandmother.

881 When delivering the boy to the initiator, the boy's
539 brother says, "This is your wife (akoreduje); together with him you will cut marido; together with him you will go to get the palm leaves in the forest; with him you will clean the village plaza and Aije muga; you will make a road for mano; with him you will open a path through the bushes, in front of the others carrying their bows and nets; with him
824 you will kill game and fish."[1] (Marido is the plant the Bororo use in making a big wheel, also called marido, with which they dance during a ceremony of the same name. The palm leaves mentioned are those which the Bororo men use to make a fence around the dancing ground during certain cere-
796 monies forbidden to women. Aije muga is the place where the Aije, the bull-roarers, are hidden, where many of the ceremonies have their starting point, and where the actors in these ceremonies are adorned and furnished with the necessary
824 paraphernalia. Mano is another wheel of palm leaves that the Bororo carry in a race on a long road leading to the village.

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[1] "Akoredujereo, awu apore are mano kora ta, awu apore are keo kora ta, awu apore ature bai kae, awu apore ature kaidaga kae, awu apore are bororo akudo, awu apore Aije muga akudo. Awu apore are mano koda to, awu apore are awure jodo ipo, iwora paru keje, tuge, boiga, buke, boari otodai."

613 lineages have in contemporary Bororo rituals, and it is expressed in terms of seniority. Ki Bakororo is said to be the
● [796] older brother, the two others the younger brothers. Each of lineages (brothers) has to perform different functions in certain ceremonies, and the ancestral brothers have their own distinct personalities in the myths. However, the Bororo affirm that the three terms are only three different names of the same person: Ki Bakororo. He also has many other names, but these three are his most important ones. There is a way of reconciling these seemingly contradictory statements. Table VIII diagrams relationships which accommodate both of the above interpretations.

613 Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari are hier-
553 archically ordered fraternal lineages. By the act of naming, every man and his mother's brother are equivalent: Ki Bakororo is equivalent to his mother's brother Ki Bakororo; Badajeba Kudoro is equivalent to his mother's brother Badajeba Kudoro; and Jakorari to his mother's brother Jakorari.

613 If we go far enough, we arrive at their common mother's
553 brother, who, by the naming act, is equivalent to all three
173 lineages: to Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. Thus the Bororo can logically say that the three names are only different names of the same person. The principal name of this person was Ki Bakororo, and this was the name that his eldest sister's son inherited from him. The name then continued to be used as the name of the principal lineage within the subclan by Ki Bakororo's matrilineal descendants.

Set D

| Lineages | Subclans | Clans |
|---|---|---|
| | O-Boro Echerae | |
| | | Badajebage Chobugiwuge |
| Akaruyo Bokodori → | Bakoro Echerae | |
| Mamuyawuge Echeba → | Enogujeba Echerae | |
| | Badajebage Chobugiwuge | |
| | | Badajebage Chebegiwuge |
| | Badajebage Chebegiwuge | |

It should be noted that the Bororo limit the usage of set D to a special occasion, perhaps to avoid any possibility of confusion between the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and that subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan which is also called here Badajebage Chobugiwuge. On the evening before a ceremony the chief formally invites all the clans to participate in the following order:

Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Kiye Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae[1]

Enogujeba Echerae, Bakoro Echerae, O-Boro Echerae

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[1] Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae is alternative name for the Bokodori Echerae clan.

613 Paiwoe, Apiborege[1]
614
796 Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge
Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge
361 The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echerae (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Ewogujeba Echerae (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

613 The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugi-
614 wuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Che-
571 begiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

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[1] The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
796 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

(black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea); ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female[A] and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodare (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

[A] [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

822 796 237 302 614 822 825 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 796 825 827 614 The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokódori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
825 is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
796

614 Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge, the female
796 tapir is played by Baitogogo, a lineage of the Black Aroroe, and the baby tapir by Aroya Kurireu, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. This is a very interesting case which seems to differ from the normal pattern. Baitogogo, one of the most important if not the most important of the lineages of the Bororo tribe, impersonates the female tapir, while Butore Agadu, the least prominent of the three lineages, impersonates the male tapir. This is not an isolated incident. There are a few other cases in which important items are impersonated by less important clan members. But in each of these cases the Bororo can give a reasonable explanation for the exception. In this example, at the time when Ki Bakororo and Jakorari were distributing the representations of the tapirs among their yorubodare (alliés), Butore Agadu was having an affair with Baitogogo's wife, who herself belonged to the Kiye clan. In giving the representation of the male tapir to Butore Agadu, Ki Bakororo acknowledged him as a true male and at the same time shamed Baitogogo, who could not take proper care of his wife, Ki Bakororo's sister. The yorubodare relationship between Baitogogo and Ki Bakororo was not spoiled by this act. They exchanged many other items and representations. It was just one of Ki Bakororo's many jokes, for which he is quite famous.

A good example of things going according to the rules is the ceremonial performance of okoge (a fish similar to salmon). Kaigu, a lineage of the subclan of the older broth-

614 ers of the Bokodori Echerae, owns all okoge kurireuge (big
796 okoge). Kaigu gives the representation of one okoge eimejera (one chief of okoge) to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge; the representation of the other okoge eimejera is given to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge; the representation of okoge aredu (female okoge) is given to Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The lineage of Koge Enogwa Tabowu, as we know, was alternately classified as belonging to the subclans of the Black, the Red, and the "in the middle" Ivadududoge. The younger brothers Bokodori Echerae own the rest of okoge, all okoge kuqurireuge (small okoge), and give their representation to all less important lineages of the Ivagududoge.

614 Differences between the subclans of older and younger
301 brothers are also expressed through the medium of ornaments.
[56] The Bororo love to talk about ornaments, and examples of subclan differences are numerous. I will mention only few of them.

The Ivagududoge own a labret called ararureu. It is a string of regularly cut pieces of shell. The ararureu of the Black Ivagududoge is long and is made with large pieces of shell, while the ararureu of the Red Ivagududoge is short and the pieces of shell are small.

The festive bow of the Apiborege, called ikuye ika, is ornamented with painted rings made of leaves of babassu palm. The rings on the bow of the Big Apiborege are broad and widely spaced, the rings on the bow of the Small Apiborege

614 choreu - kujaqureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kurugugwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kurugugwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 west, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujagureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

796 613 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Bakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

[561] [562]

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kioqwaqiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujaqureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kuqurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

### C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari



201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7; Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the description of the Marido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echerae door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

Mature women, when menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spatially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the village to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sisters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire. Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony; sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual affairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least during the night. The continuity of the society must be assured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with ceremonies, or to be proud of.

Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs, ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would require the space of another book. With death a man's passage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

/157 cont./

796 184 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, [562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 796 If it seems that the reason that the men practice intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them 764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example, 562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the [534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular [761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
273 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role. According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acurí palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[301] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505).: "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

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[Information on the various Bororo rituals and ceremonies associated with death will be found in categories 764 and 765.]

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

[p. 39-F]

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died, and once every year the ghost returns and enters 775 the body of the person who did the burying and [782] dances in the *ardueto*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

●796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina 775 is the *ardueto*, which is given every year at the beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities [782] of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *ardueto;* and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male 292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear 796 long mantles made from buritĺ leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear 775 macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buritĺ bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buritĺ leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kdto*) and 534 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in 533 length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *ardueto* are those men who have lost relatives since the *ardueto* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.